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THE
VOICE
OF THE
WORKER

'That which is good for the working class I esteem patriotic . . . James Connolly

VOTE NO. 1 JIM KEMMY



STANDS ON HIS RECORD

HAUGHEY'S FIFTH COLUMN IN THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY MEET SOME UNEXPECTED OPPOSITION —

MacNamara's Band

KEVIN MacNamara is one of a Labour group of pro-nationalists which includes MPs such as Leo Abse and Tom Dalyall. Over the years, this group has, quite understandably, come to regard the making of Labour Party views on Ireland as its own private concern. Traditionally "interest" in Northern Ireland, as far as the Labour Party was concerned, meant advancing the nationalist cause within British circles. Party members who are not with the nationalists are not so much against them as simply not interested in the issue. The pro-nationalists have, therefore, considered that their main task is not to convince the party of the rightness of the nationalist position (against which they encountered little or no political argument) but to convince them of the necessity of taking the plunge beyond pragmatism; that is, to become totally irresponsible and try to force Northern Ireland towards unity with the Republic.

Their predisposition to argument with their own capitalist class is to the credit of British socialists, but with regard to Northern Ireland, their readiness to side with erstwhile oppressed "natives" has led them to see the very particular situation in Ulster in very general colonial-liberation terms. Groups like the Connolly Association - a Communist Party front - exploited this post-colonial guilt complex to the full in attempting to link progressive politics in Britain and Irish nationalism. In general, the further left the political group, the more passionate their support (if sometimes nit-pickingly "critical") for the Provisional IRA. The more "respectable" nationalists in Parliament are, however, more likely to sympathise with the likewise more respectable Mr Haughey.

There is, however, nothing particularly 'radical' about a un-

ited Ireland. It is simply the transfer of one capitalist state to another - and against the will of its inhabitants at that. British socialists are merely indulging in an anti-imperialism which is becoming as much a sacred cow to the middle-class liberal intelligentsia of today's Britain as pro-imperialism was to their counterparts of another generation. In fact, there is every indication that the Irish and British establishments would love to do a deal on Northern Ireland. The stated British policy of supporting the right of the Northern majority to belong to the state of their choice is not based on principle; it is not pursued or argued as such. It is merely an excuse for their unwillingness to risk over-ambitious manoeuvres as the more rabid Irish nationalists would wish. Such activities would, the British Government explains apologetically, lead to much upheaval and blood-shed in Northern Ireland. It has been the aim of the Connolly Association and fellow-travellers like MacNamara's band in the Labour Party to wear down such weak-stomached squeamishness in British political circles in favour of the "final solution" - a British withdrawal and to hell with the consequences.

It is refreshing, therefore, to encounter a Labour Party group interested enough to produce and circulate a discussion paper which, according to MacNamara is "a dangerous and foolish paper, a unionist paper ... the whole drift of its argument is in favour of integration of the six counties with the UK as a whole". (*Irish Times* 19/3/81).

If the authors argue their position out within the party, many people may find the nationalist emperor has few clothes indeed.

THE S.D.L.P.

You've got to hand it to the Provos. In ensuring for Bobby Sands a clear run in the Fermanagh bye-election, they really showed the SDLP a thing or two about political manoeuvre. They achieved a much needed boost for H-Block hunger strike mark 11, which was flagging badly, while the necessity to vote for Sands, if only to force a second election will allow them to claim considerable Catholic electoral support — something the SDLP regarded as virtually their private property.

But what really hurts the SDLP and their psychopathic fan-club in the Southern media is that this time there is not even the most millimetrically thin veneer of respectability about the candidate they had been so deftly manoeuvred into "agreeing".

The SDLP have always made a great song and dance about opposing the "men of violence" — but only verbally. They never have, and never will support any **action** against them. For one thing, to do so would shatter the alliance of gut nationalists and sophisticated strategists of which the party is composed. For another, they know full well that their ambitious demands for a British withdrawal and an "agreed Ireland" would never get another hearing if peace broke out tomorrow.

It is really the old game of the slightly constitutional nationalists. The respectable constitutionalists stridently condemn violence, thus remaining ostentatiously respectable, but follow up with the regretful conclusion that violence will continue until their respectable constitutional demands (which just

happen to be curiously similar to those of the "men of violence") are met.

To play this game well and maintain an unsullied constitutional pedigree, it is essential for the SDLP to strike all the right poses in relation to the IRA. Indeed, the closer they moved towards Sinn Fein in politics, the more imperative it became to distance themselves in rhetoric.

Alas for the strategists; this all proved too sophisticated for the honest-to-God nationalist grass roots west of the Bann, who have consistently opposed attempts by their own party to contest this seat. It was damaging enough for the SDLP's image to leave a clear field for IRA fellow-travellers like Frank Maguire, but leaving it clear for an actually convicted IRA-man leaves them without the tiniest fig-leaf to hide their reputation behind — especially when a local SDLP councillor got sufficiently carried away to actually sign Bobby Sands' nomination papers. It is indeed questionable if keeping one more Unionist out of Westminster is worth the loss of reputation the SDLP strategists have now suffered.

In the process of becoming the northern wing of Fianna Fail, the SDLP have already lost their social democratic facade (Gerry Fitt and Paddy Devlin). We can only hope they go on like this, and that progressive-minded people who may yet be fooled, will finally see through the pretensions of the so-called Social Democratic and Labour Party.

NEUTRALITY

If we were to believe some commentators, a united Ireland is virtually signed, sealed and delivered, if only we would give up our neutrality. Socialists Against Nationalism adopted the following policy statement on the affair at its Annual General Meeting on March 7.

The relationship of the Irish Republic and the United Kingdom is indeed a unique one. It is a relationship of sovereign states which dispenses, particularly on the British side, with many of the legal barriers that sovereign states are accustomed to place between their peoples. We favour the improvement of this relationship, since it must involve a weakening of nationalist ideology in Ireland.

The main source of antagonism between the Republic and the UK at this time is the Republic's claim to part of the UK's territory, and the terrorist war which attempts to enforce it. The abandonment of this claim would improve their relationship more than any other political initiative could.

It is, however, possible that Anglo-Irish relations could be improved in more limited ways even while the Republic maintains its territorial claim. All other things being equal, this would help to diminish antagonism between the communities in Northern Ireland.

Southern Ireland's neutrality is the secondary source of antagonism between the Republic and the UK. It was of considerable military advantage to the Nazis in the earlier part of World War II, and it remains a worrying defensive flaw on Britain's western approaches.

Historically, there has been no inherent connection between Southern Ireland's neutrality and its grievance over Partition (though such a connection has been asserted in anti-Partitionist propaganda since the late 40s). Neutrality was established as a

national objective by the radical nationalists long before Partition became a fact. In 1940, de Valera was offered everything that Lynch and Haughey have asked for (i.e. — a declaration by the British Government that it intended to work towards a united Ireland) in return for the Free State's entry into the War, but he rejected the offer.

Southern Ireland's entry into NATO alongside Britain, or its conclusion of a separate defence pact with Britain, would undoubtedly improve Irish-UK relations. However, we regard the idea of selling neutrality for Northern Ireland as merely ridiculous, a bargain that even if it were struck could not possibly be honoured because of the opposition of the majority of Northern Ireland's people.

The present British Government, possibly the most defence-conscious since the War, seems to be attracted by the idea of buying Southern Irish neutrality, though not of paying for it with Northern Ireland. But already it has paid a political deposit. It is clear that Haughey is accorded a right of consultation on whatever is done on Northern Ireland. He is accorded this right as the effective representative of the Northern Catholics, acknowledged as such by the SDLP. The SDLP dissolved themselves as a party without any independent pretensions when they shed Gerry Fitt and plainly became the Northern wing of Fianna Fail. Northern Catholic politics is now openly the politics of the Fifth Column, which has not been the case for 15 years, and this increases the danger that the Anglo-Irish horse-trading will provoke sectarian violence.

Haughey's policy also involves considerable political risk for himself. He is already being accused by the Opposition, relying heavily on British public statements, of being prepared to auction neutrality for next to nothing. It is unlikely he would ever try to do so — which means it is likely that the rows over the summit, Paisley's mobilisations etc. will turn out to be much ado about nothing. If neutrality is to be sold, Haughey can hope to get substantially less for it than de Valera could have got in 1940.

VOTE NO.1 JIM KEMMY

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DR. LONG WRITES HIS OWN HISTORY of the LIMERICK MEDICAL MISSION

THE DR. LONG STORY

PART TWENTY-TWO

THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT AND FRESH TROUBLE

THINGS went on calmly for some years, but trouble of another kind was developing throughout the country. Dublin suffered heavily during the Easter Rebellion of 1916, but Cork, Limerick, Galway, and other places in the south and west, did not come in for their share of fighting till a few years later. Mr. Hare (the Scripture-Reader) and Mrs. Hare (the Nurse) had some trying experiences during the fighting which took place after the signing of the Truce and the inauguration of the Irish Free State; they live over the Dispensary, which is a corner house in the heart of the city. Sunday, the 16th July, 1922, was a never-to-be-forgotten day in their experiences in Thomas Street. In a letter to the Secretary shortly afterwards, Mr. Hare wrote:-

"Truly we have had a very exciting and enervating time during the past three weeks. Firing all around, one never knew when the fatal bullet might reach him; innocent persons were shot from the roofs of the houses by I.R.A. snipers. Our house came in for a good share, both back and front - on the back from the fire of the I.R.A. (before they took possession), and on the front by the Free Staters. The climax came on Sunday when, at about 4.30 a.m., we were awakened by men forcing an entrance through the lower bedroom windows; before we could dress we heard the glass of the yard door being broken, the locks forced, and nine or ten men rushing up the stairs. On opening the bedroom door we were face to face with the group of invaders, who politely informed us that they were in possession and that we would have to clear out, but before doing so we could get them some breakfast as they were tired, hungry, and thirsty. So we had to set to and prepare breakfast for them. The girls and Mrs. Hare say ten men were in the group. They ate all we could put before them, and would not let us move about without some one or two of their number being behind us. We asked permission to put a few things together, and, when we had them in our hand-cases, they wanted us to leave them behind and they would send them in a motor. I said, 'We can manage to carry them all right and would risk being shot'. We sat on the cases and waited till the firing grew less. During this period I had some of the men and spoke to them of the true liberty and of Christ's saving power. They raised no objections, but seemed anxious to get us out of the way. I rejoice to be able to say that we got away safely, but we shall never forget 4.30 a.m., Sunday, July 16th, nor the horrible and disgusting sight on our return on Friday, the 21st. It makes me feel faint and sick to think of these two events. Every drawer and box opened, the contents scattered about the rooms, the best of everything missing; the furniture mostly spoilt with bullet marks; bedclothes, etc., gone; in the top rooms filth unmentionable; a cart-load of damp earth on the bedroom floors; fully a hundred-and-sixty bags of earth piled up around the windows; our piano is ruined and so is the desk, nine bullets in the latter. Havergall Hall was invaded and the schoolmaster's rooms upset and a few things damaged. 'Tis said our place got the worst treatment, and it looks very much like it. Thanking you and all interested for prayerful sympathy, and wishing you every good wish."

As a result of five days' fighting between the Free State troops and the I.R.A., the upper portion of the Dispensary premises were very badly damaged. Being a corner house and facing into William Street, where the Free State soldiers had their headquarters, it became a very hot spot, and suffered more than any other house in the city. On Thursday, July 20th, there was a fight close to our quarters. The Free Staters attacked the Strand Barracks with a field gun, putting shells through it. We had to keep low, as bullets were flying over our heads and all

about. One young man was hit at our gate. We carried him into the front garden and found that he had a bullet in his right thigh. I dressed the wound and then we got him up to the Hospital.

During these troubles and excitements many shops were looted. All the three barracks were looted and burnt by Republicans.

Christian friends in England came nobly to the help of the Mission and its agents at this time.

The damage done, some of which is shown in the picture (page 42), cost over £600 to repair. The claim for compensation was allowed by the Free State authorities, and payment was made by the Minister of Finance in 1925. Of course, the rebuilding could not wait for two or three years, but had to be put in hand immediately after the cessation of hostilities; otherwise the exposed condition of the premises would have led to further and rapid deterioration. It was a very solid encouragement when God honoured the faith of the Committee by causing the amount necessary for paying the workmen's bills to be subscribed within the space of a few months. "The young lions do lack and suffer hunger, but they that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing".

AS OTHERS SEE US 1. LOCAL OPINION

ONE of the stories told by priests to prejudice their people against the "Bird's Nest", Kingstown, and Mrs. Smyly's Schools and Homes in Dublin, is that a statue of the Blessed Virgin is kept in each Home, and that R.C. children are compelled to spit upon it. This deliberate falsehood has been uttered more than once from the pulpits of R.C. Churches in Dublin, but the £100 offered to anyone who could prove the charge has never yet been claimed. In Limerick the same base falsehood seems to have been circulated. A woman informed Mr. Hare that for a long time she was afraid to venture into the Mission Dispensary, as she had been told that the first thing she would have to do was to spit upon an image of the Blessed Virgin. She said: "I am very glad that I have attended the Dispensary, for I've learnt more of God and His Word than I ever knew before, and I can bear witness to the world that I've never seen an image of the Blessed Virgin here, and have never been asked to spit upon one. I say also that if we did all we are told here we would be better Christians than we are. The priests are mighty jealous of you, and they know that if we go by what you say they will lose money. I am sure you are right, for you show it in the Bible".

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Another woman, who had been going to the Dispensary for some time said: "I went to Confession and 'twas dragged out of me that I had attended the Mission. The priest said, 'You have committed a most grievous sin, and I've no power to absolve you. You must see the Bishop, or the Administrator, for absolution. My God! I thought we had wiped that place out of existence.' I told the priest that hundreds of Roman Catholics were attending. He asked me if I knew their names, and I mentioned the name of one; in less than twenty-four hours a different priest called upon her and charged her with having attended the Dispensary. Where is the secrecy of the Confessional? I always believed in it, but after this — never. 'Tis a big sham, and for the future God will be good enough to me. I'll not trouble the priest, and as for the Bishop or Administrator, they can keep their absolution, God's is good enough".

2. AN ENGLISH CLERGYMAN

THE Rev. Canon Hay Aitken, M.A., of Norwich Cathedral, speaking in London in 1910, said: "During my recent visit to Limerick, where I was privileged to conduct a mission a few months ago, I saw something of Dr. Long's work, and a most interesting work it is. If there is a hero living in these Islands, it is Dr. Long. The cruel persecution to which that man has been subjected is only equalled by the marvellous patience with which he has endured it all. He has lived it down, and a Roman Catholic remarked to me: 'Whatever we may say about that man, the patience of him is past all describing.' So it is. He would not be put down — he has not been put down — and to-day he exerts a greater influence in Limerick than ever. The wonderful romance of the work there is certainly extraordinary. It is going on year in and year out, with blessed results. I could not help being struck with this impressive fact".

3. THE ROMANIST BISHOP

THE following reference to the Limerick Medical Mission occurs in the Lenten Pastoral of the Most Rev. Dr. Keane, the Romanist Bishop of Limerick, as reported in the **Limerick Chronicle**, Feb. 24th, 1925:-

"There is another matter which can affect only few, but of which for the instruction of those few, mention must be made. I refer to the possibility of any Catholics visiting the proselytising

agency in our midst. That possibility exists, as I have said, for the few, as the great majority of you can entertain no feeling regarding this matter but amazement that any should be found ready to exploit the needs of the suffering poor as the proselytiser would exploit them. The thing indeed is unintelligible to any man unless he realises that the mentality of those engaged in proselytism is to be understood only by reference to the standards of a time happily past. Proselytism is one of those melancholy instances of survival sometimes met with in human affairs. It happens now and then that a spirit, the product of one age, is found in some of its manifestations living on to a later and better age to which it is wholly alien and from which it receives neither welcome nor honour. Such is the case with proselytism. **Nowadays no enlightened Christian of any denomination would wish for a moment to be identified with the proceedings of proselytisers.** It would then be most discreditable for any Catholic to have recourse to those who endeavour to do such work here. The faith of such a Catholic may not possibly be in much danger, but such conduct would give much scandal and would externally, at least, look like a denial of faith that he is bound to profess. Anyone acting thus may have reason to fear the words of Our Lord: 'He that shall deny Me before men, I will also deny him before My Father who is in heaven'. This ought to be enough and more than enough in reference to this matter".

If Dr. Keane is sincere in his view that no enlightened Christian of any denomination would identify himself with proselytising, then he must have a very poor opinion of the vigorous and aggressive programme of the "Catholic Truth Society" and its efforts to lead England back to the Church of Rome. Doubtless, however, he would say that circumstances alter cases. Dr. Walsh, who was the Romanist Archbishop of Dublin up to a few years ago, once said: "Proselytism, which means simply the making of converts, may be a very good thing, and there are circumstances in which it is undoubtedly good and praiseworthy." An example of such "circumstances" would be when Romanists hold a Special Mission in some part of England, and the notices of the meetings contain the statement, "Catholics are not expected unless they bring a non-Catholic friend". The late Monsignor Benson, in his "Confessions of a Convert", spoke of "the grace of Proselytism". It would see, therefore, that one and the same virtue is a grace when practised by Romanists, but a disgrace when practised by others. Such is the Church of Rome's passion for monopolies in certain directions.

SCRAP ARTICLES—2 & 3 DROP THE CLAIM ON NORTHERN IRELAND SOCIALISTS AGAINST NATIONALISM

We believe: That the clear wish of the majority of people in Northern Ireland to remain citizens of the United Kingdom must be respected.

We declare: That socialists must accept the present state boundaries in Ireland as a basis for developing socialist politics. The call for a 32-county socialist Republic is nothing more than the old nationalism newly dressed in a socialist guise.

We oppose: The demand for the British Government to declare its intention to withdraw from Northern Ireland.

We demand: That the Government of the Republic should recognise as legitimate the present constitutional status of Northern Ireland. To this end we demand that Articles 2 and 3 of the Republic's Constitution, which lays claim to Northern Ireland's territory, be dropped. This is clearly required by the Helsinki Agreement, which was signed by the Republic in 1975.

Membership: Membership is open to all those who support our aims.

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THE CORPORATION

FROM SHAWN-A-SCOOL

by Michael Hogan

FUTURE MEMORIALS

In this memorial-raising Age
 I mean to fill a future page
 With memoirs of the human bears
 Which Limerick town installed as Mayors.
 Sure 'twas a more than comic job
 To make a Mayor of staggering Bob,
 A worthless crow—a useless rook,
 Like Mayor Puff, that starved his cook;
 And leads a priest-protected life,
 Like holy Maurice that starved his wife.
 But he has mended her bill of fare,
 And liberally increased her share
 By catering for her, every day,
 A full half ounce of Peacock's tea.
 Good heaven! what *august* men we find
 To guide and teach the public mind
 When such a hungry worm writes down
 The man whose bounty fed the town.
 Think of the slander-scribbling villain—
 Whose penury would starve the million;
 Whose greed his creditors daily cheats,
 And seldom pays for what he eats—
 Libelling the man whose godlike hand
 Flung, like the spring rain on the land,
 His gold and silver to redress
 The helpless children of distress.
 Isn't it enough to make the stones
 Fly up and smash the scoundrel's bones;
 And drive to everlasting mire
 The dirty sanctimonious liar.

THE MARCH OF CIVILIZATION

Moonlight and sunlight—every ray
 That cheered the night or ruled the day—
 Lamplight and candle-light, must succomb
 To give this *great enlightener* room.
 Mankind, like fire-flies seen at night,
 Will dazzle each other with their own light,
 Prussia and France already went
 To *blazes* with *enlightenment*:
 The christian love of Franks and Germans
 Is best expressed in bomb-shell sermons.
 Developing *Social Science* crammed
 With numbers maimed and numbers damned.

O progress stiff with christian starch!
 Earth is too narrow for your march!
 To extend your road it would be well
 To add a little bit of hell;
 As towards that region most you tend,
 'Twill raise no scruple to extend
 Your journey thither, and contrive
 To stop you there when you arrive.
 Well, if Old Nick would cock his horn
 And spit upon the farce with scorn,
 'Twould be the price of civilization
 In this or any other nation.
 As long as Mammon, supreme king,
 Is champion of the christian ring,
 Civilization, in war or peace,
 Will always have a dirty face.

FROM A SKETCH OF THE MAMMON OF INIQUITY

No man can serve two masters. For either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will sustain the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and Mammon.—Matthew. VI, Chap. 24 ver

All hail my flail invincible!
 Tho' scoundrels may abuse you
 Yet I will make them sensible
 Of how a bard can use you:
 The thrashing time is come again,
 'Tis glorious exercising;
 But we shall have, ere we begin,
 Some space for moralising.

I brought a fine new leather thong
 From rhyming Mount Parnassus,
 To make your *boottaun* stout and strong
 To *wallop* Mammon's asses.
 And may the guardians of the sky
 With kind consent enable
 Congenial friends like you and I
 To clear the Aegean Stable.

Come on my brave Oscarian flail
 And make the Country hear you;
 Let rogues and gilded villains quail
 But good men need not fear you:
 Mammon's hell-kites, and owls and hawks

Are things that fear to find you;
While honest men enjoy your strokes
And clap their hands behind you.

Oh, had my flail the Angel's might
That slew the fierce Assyrian;
I'd sweep as chaff, in one short night,
All traitors out of Erin.
The home-spun rogues that watch and plot
To sell her and befool her,
Are far more guilty than the lot
Of Foreign knaves that rule her.

The son that cuts his mother's throat
Should branded be and blasted;
The wretch that violates his oath,
By men should be detested.
The rogue that sells his native land
And traffics on his brother,
Is just as base in heart and hand
As he that slays his mother.

'Twould make an angel sick to hear
Political bombasts ranting
'Bout Creed and Country, while that rare
Gem, Honesty is wanting:
They prate of Religion and Right,
At Civilization aiming,
While in their hearts, 'fore heaven's sight,

The scoundrels are blaspheming.

If love of godless Saxon rule
Means christian Civilization?
Then glory to the blessed School
That squared your education.
The sordid sanctimonious mind
When armed with human knowledge;
Is the most dangerous tool refined
In seminary or college.

The rigid moralizing screw
That gaping fool advises,
Is scarcely better than the crew
He coldly catechises.
The greatest ass let loose from school,
To turn God's law adviser,
Is he the humdrum pious fool,
Or he the canting miser.

A man may make a purse of cash
By honest trade and labour;
And cut an independent dash,
But not defraud his neighbour;
A man may rise to be a lord,
And fortune thus may lead him
To show the world, in deed and word,
The goose that nature made him.

HAUGHEY'S CLAIMS ARE WEARING THIN

THE JOINT STUDIES

THE row over the Anglo-Irish summit has degenerated into farce. Fianna Fail and the Democratic Unionist Party try desperately to help each other save face. Fine Gael twists and turns in the search for immediate electoral advantage. The Labour Party demands the good old days when all the Southern parties agreed on the virtues of power-sharing.

Meanwhile, the Northern wing of Fianna Fail (otherwise known as the SDLP) scored a point or two by forcing Fitzgerald to say that if he becomes Taoiseach he will continue the Anglo-Irish talks. Fitzgerald obviously feels it would not be popular to say otherwise, deeply though he regrets that the constitutional position of Northern Ireland is not among the subject discussed and heartsick though he is for the friendly chats he once had with Jack Lynch about Northern Ireland policy and the neighbours.

All in all, Haughey seems to have lost credibility. It is true that he has succeeded in giving a certain section of Southern public opinion the impression that his political talents are little short of magical, if they are at all short of magical. Unfortunately for him, he hasn't been able to teach the tricks to his minister for Foreign Affairs. Lenihan is the bull in this particular china shop.

Shortly after the Haughey-Thatcher meeting in December, Lenihan prated about constitutional issues not being excluded from the studies and was forced to back down when the British denied this. From Fianna Fail's point of view, one would have

thought it was bad enough to make such a blunder once. But Lenihan has recently said the same thing a second time, and been forced a second time to back down, he made things worse by trying to save face and postulated Irish unity within a decade, so that the British felt compelled to throw a brick right in the middle of Fianna Fail's card castle.

If the constitutional position of Northern Ireland has not been touched upon, is not being touched upon and will not be touched upon in the course of the joint studies, as Humphrey Atkins has stated in a tone of "for once and for all", where is the historic progress which Haughey claims was made last December? Shouldn't Fianna Fail now consider very seriously whether the talks should be broken off, in view of how the British have welshed on the mutual understanding?

It is all very well talking about historic progress. That sort of language can be understood according to the hearer's predisposition. A nod is as good as a wink to a blind horse. But it was a mistake to try to be more specific about what this "historic progress" actually involved.

Questioned about Atkins' statement, Haughey said he accepted that that was the British position. But so far as the present joint studies and the past joint studies are concerned, what Atkins said must either be true or false: only regarding the future joint studies could there be any room for difference of opinion. So what's Haughey's position; that he hopes the British will change their minds... after sufficient study?

KEMMY FOR THE DAIL

Over the past twenty years Jim Kemmy has been involved in many debates and controversies in defence of democracy and in the struggle for social justice. He has been an active and outspoken member of the Limerick City Council for the past seven years.

He has spoken out strongly on a variety of issues including unemployment, the housing shortage, income tax, women's rights, family planning, ground rents, multi-channel television, local radio, industrial development and many other subjects. He was responsible for the setting up of the Limerick Family Planning Association in 1975 and has played a major part in the success of its Clinic.

In his seven years' membership of the City Council Jim Kemmy has been a dedicated and hard-working public representative. He has not missed a single scheduled meeting of the City Council in that period and has also a full attendance of meetings of the two standing committees of which he is a member, the Housing Committee and the Cultural and Environmental Committee.

Jim Kemmy stands for the creation of a changed society in which all the people can share in the country's wealth. He stands for a world in which injustice and poverty are replaced by equality and co-operation. He stands opposed to the present system of economic exploitation in which profit and privilege are placed before the interests of the people.

In contrast to the promises and gimmicks being put forward by other candidates, Jim Kemmy has given an unambiguous and comprehensive statement of his political position. If elected to the Dail he will call for the following policies:

- The deletion of Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution.
- An end to the violence in Northern Ireland based on the democratic settlement of the conflict, with the right of the majority of the people there to opt for the state of their own choosing and the recognition of the democratic rights of the minority.
- Full family planning facilities as a basic civil and human right.
- The creation of employment as an urgent priority so

that all our people will have the right to work.

- The establishment of a fair and equitable tax system.
- The reform of the social welfare and health systems.

Through his writings and public statements Jim Kemmy has played a leading part in creating more open and tolerant attitudes in Limerick.

There is a great need for an independent and consistent Limerick voice in Dail Eireann. With his unrivalled knowledge of Limerick and its people, Jim Kemmy is well qualified to fill this role.

The nomination of Jim Kemmy to contest this general election is, therefore, an important step forward in the political development of the Limerick people. Despite the limitations on the powers of individual deputies, the election offers a unique opportunity for political progress. Your vote gives you a rare chance of changing the stagnant, closed-shop of Limerick politics and of electing Jim Kemmy to Dail Eireann.

Thus, this election is a vital one for you and the people of East Limerick. The way forward is clear. You can help the advancement of your interests by voting No. 1 for Jim Kemmy on polling day.

MAKE YOUR STAND FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The forthcoming general election presents to the people of East Limerick with the opportunity of taking a positive step towards political and social progress. To win the election an intensive campaign must be organised. The help of all progressive and democratic people is urgently needed. All those wishing to assist with canvassing, posterizing, transport and subscriptions are requested to contact Jim Kemmy's campaign headquarters.

POEMS

By SEAN HEALY

LITTLE MINDS

Great men boast not of their deeds
nor angels of their wings,
but little minds will always crow,
when right in trifling things.

TRUTH

Truth has more enemies at its birth
than the weakest creature on the earth;
to creatures mild and quiet
speed is given to aid their flight,
and strength is given those who're slow
but truth

truth is a naked babe left in the snow
and you who'd suckle such a child
will be outcast and reviled,
damned by religion
and mocked by art,
only time will prove your noble heart.